

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

SENT TO D.C.

7-26-99

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "X" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name RAYMOND M. HILLIARD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT

other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number Cermak Road and S. State Street not for publication

city or town Chicago vicinity

state Illinois code IL county Cook code 031 zip code 60616

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

William L. Wheeler / SHPO 6.30.99
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

Illinois Historic Preservation Agency
State of Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

- entered in the National Register.
 - See continuation sheet.
- determined eligible for the National Register
 - See continuation sheet.
- determined not eligible for the National Register.
- removed from the National Register.
- other, (explain): _____

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
 public-local
 public-State
 public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- building(s)
 district
 site
 structure
 object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
5	0	buildings
0	0	sites
1	0	structures
0	0	objects
6	0	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

**Number of contributing resources previously listed
in the National Register**

N/A

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling
RECREATION AND CULTURE/amphitheater
RECREATION AND CULTURE/community center

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling
RECREATION AND CULTURE/amphitheater
RECREATION AND CULTURE/community center

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

MODERN MOVEMENT/
other: neo-expressionism

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation concrete
walls concrete
roof asphalt
other _____

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B** removed from its original location.
- C** a birthplace or grave.
- D** a cemetery.
- E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F** a commemorative property.
- G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

ARCHITECTURE

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

SOCIAL HISTORY

POLITICS/GOVERNMENT

Period of Significance

1966

Significant Dates

1966

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/BUILDER

GOLDBERG, BERTRAND

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property 12.5 Acres

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1	16	448940	4633680
Zone	Easting	Northing	
2	16	448940	4633420

3	16	4487700	4633420
Zone	Easting	Northing	

4	16	4487200	4633630
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See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Daniel Bluestone, Director, Historic Preservation Program
organization University of Virginia date March, 1999
street & number Campbell Hall telephone 804-924-6458
city or town Charlottesville, state VA zip code 22903

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

- A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- A Sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional Items

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name Chicago Housing Authority
street & number 626 W. Jackson Boulevard telephone _____
city or town Chicago state IL zip code 60661

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Please comment regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 27127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of

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RAYMOND M. HILLIARD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT

7. DESCRIPTION

The Raymond M. Hilliard Center is a celebrated modern-style, five-building public-housing complex with 710 residential apartments. Designed by architect Bertrand Goldberg between 1962 and 1966, the Hilliard Center occupies a nearly flat 12.5 acre site, two miles south of Chicago's downtown loop. The Hilliard Center buildings are constructed of reinforced concrete, with a structural load-bearing exterior shell. Two identical 16-story cylindrical towers, with diameters of approximately 99 feet, accommodate senior citizens. Two identical 22-story arch-shaped buildings accommodate families and are approximately 47 feet wide and 193 feet long. The elderly housing towers each have a central elevator, stair, and utility core and circular hallways on each floor that provide access to the apartments. South-facing open-air galleries provide access to the units in the family buildings. The fifth building is a one-story community center 96 feet square. A one story high, glass enclosed, connecting link, 72 feet long and 17 feet wide, joins the community center with the elderly housing tower to the north. A second identical connecting link joins the community center with the elderly housing tower to the east. The Hilliard Center buildings occupy less than 10 percent of their site. The balance of the site, bounded by State Street on the east, Clark Street on the west, Cermak Road (22nd Street) on the south, and Cullerton Street (20th Street) on the north, is given over to grassy play areas, deciduous trees, asphalt parking lots and driveways, and concrete walkways. A reinforced concrete, open-air, community amphitheater occupies an area 104 feet by 104 feet in the middle of the Hilliard Center site. The amphitheater is a contributing structure in the Historic District. The Hilliard Center's main asphalt driveway is U-shaped in plan; it picks up the curve of the family buildings, located to the north of the drive, and encloses the elderly housing towers, the community building, and the amphitheater on the south side of the site. Parking lots stand along the northern and western edges of the site, with straight and diagonal paths connecting the far flung parts of the Center.

The Hilliard Center is completely distinct from the architecture and urban form of low-rise residential and commercial buildings constructed on adjacent blocks between the late-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Unlike the main Hilliard Center buildings these adjacent buildings are largely rectangular in plan and oriented to the dominant grid of Chicago's streets. The Harold L. Ickes Homes, a public-housing project built one block south and a decade earlier than the Hilliard Center, has a similar orientation to the grid. Here, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill designed nine seven- and nine-story buildings in a severe rectilinear form and left

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exposed the grid of structural reinforced concrete members. Elevated rapid transit lines just east and west of the Hilliard Center set the site off from its immediate surroundings and from Chinatown to the west. In good condition, the Hilliard Center maintains its original historic, architectural, and urban integrity.

With its space-age modern style the Hilliard Center has little in the way of traditional architectural ornament. The modern neo-expressionist architectural form is established with simple reeded concrete bays that terminate the unusual petal-like interior spaces. Transcending the post-and-beam rectilinear forms of both traditional and modern architecture, Goldberg took advantage of the plastic and highly expressive qualities of reinforced concrete. The two cylindrical towers for the elderly each have twenty-four reeded vertical bays that run from the foundation to the roof. The concrete slip forms used at the Hilliard Center could have been fabricated of a smooth material that would have created relatively smooth exteriors. However, Goldberg settled on a pattern of narrow vertical boards for the concrete formwork. After the wooden slip forms used to mold the concrete during construction were removed they left a distinctive pattern of vertical striations in the concrete exterior walls. The vertical lines of the striae and the vertical lines of the bays are countered only by a single continuous incision line that runs completely around the two elderly housing buildings at the level of each floor. All four residential buildings at the Hilliard Center have the same exterior wall treatments with the vertical striations and horizontal incisions marking the separate floors.

On every floor in the elderly housing towers the bay is pierced by a single, squared-off ellipse-shaped window--the openings are in the form of a modified ellipse with the bottom and top curved segments compressed into straight parallel edges. Critics have compared these openings to television sets, bee hives, and airplane windows. Both the interior and exterior faces of the window are set back on a slight reveal in the wall. The curved portions of the windows are fixed while the central rectangular section is fitted with sliding vertical panes that move horizontally. The frames and sashes are metal. The architectural effect of the windows derives less from the details of the mullion configuration than from the more strongly established relationship between solid and void in the exterior wall. Goldberg argued that the curved form of the window openings helped channel and distribute the loads within the bearing wall structure. A faceted poured concrete mechanical penthouse rises from the center of the flat roofs in the elderly towers. On the top floor there is a one-module laundry room, a four-module solarium, a five-module open-roof deck that is enclosed by the uninterrupted continuation of the exterior walls and fenestration; however, the window openings in the roof deck

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wall are fitted with light railings rather than windows. The specialized spaces permitted only seven top floor apartments, five less than the typical number found on lower floors.

Each apartment in the elderly housing towers is made up of two modules or bays—a living room, dining room, and kitchen module and a bedroom and bathroom module. These two modules vary slightly in size with the 32-foot-long living room projecting 2 feet beyond the bedroom module. The living room module is approximately 12 feet at its widest point, which is two feet wider than the bedroom module. This variation creates a dynamic undulation on the exterior. Two living room modules, built side by side, alternate with two bedroom modules, creating a modest pattern of swelling and receding in the exterior wall. The curving or reeding of the exterior added stability to the building, strengthening it against wind stresses. The basic cylindrical configuration also took advantage of the fact that as a building approaches a circle in plan it encloses the greatest amount of space with the least exterior wall surface. The central core with its circular hallway also economize on circulation space and promotes community and economy of movement among the neighbors of each floor. The petal-form of the interior spaces tends to create dynamic interiors with rooms flaring outwards from the doors toward the windows; each room module terminates in a curving exterior wall.

The two 22-story family buildings have undulating bays similar to those on the elderly housing towers. Goldberg argued that in the family buildings the circular plan was still present, it was simply "unfolded." The family buildings maintain a distinct ribbon-like arc-shape. Twenty reeds or curved bays line the north facing facade of each family building. Unlike the cylindrical towers these projecting bays have identical dimensions and plans. As in the elderly housing towers the fenestration pattern is identical from the foundation to the top of the building—a single squared-off elliptical-shaped window opening is present on each floor in each bay and the dominant feeling is one of verticality given by the projecting reeds and the vertical striations of the concrete. The south sides of the family buildings are fronted with arc-shaped open-air galleries. The galleries have simple wire mesh borders, topped by a metal sawtooth-pattern handrail. The south sides of the two family buildings are framed on the east and west by projecting fire-stair towers that are rectangular in plan with curved ends and measure approximately 8 feet deep by 18 feet wide. The curved sides of these towers are unbroken by any fenestration from the foundation to the top of the building. The flat front of the fire-stair bay is opened to the air and enclosed by a wire mesh similar to the mesh used in the galleries. The fire-stair towers provide a strongly vertical

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element that visually balances and seems to support the galleries with their continuous horizontal lines. A roof-top mechanical penthouse, enclosed with metal panel walls, visually reinforces the central bay with its canopied ground-story entrance, its elevator core and associated stack of elevator lobbies.

Behind the curved face of the fire-stair tower, the narrow side facades of the family buildings are each made up of two curved projecting bays. None of the residential buildings at the Hilliard Center have any right-angle corners. The southern bay on the side elevation carries a single window on each floor. The northern bay of the side elevations has no windows or other openings; simple horizontal scoring of the concrete marks each floor and plays off of the vertical striated lines left by the slip-form boards. The two bays on the side elevations of the family buildings demarcate the division of interior space. Each apartment in the family building is two rooms deep. The more public spaces -- the living room and the combined dining area and kitchen -- face the exterior gallery. Bedrooms occupy the projecting bays along the north elevation. In most apartments the living room and the kitchen-dining area each have a single large window facing the gallery. The exception to this pattern comes in the end units on each floor; here, the living room windows open through the side elevation rather than facing the gallery where the exterior prospect would be blocked by the fire-stair towers. Bathrooms and closets occupy a narrow intermediate zone between the front and back rooms. Goldberg designed the front apartment walls, facing the gallery, in a curving undulating line. This pattern made it possible to provide more private, less-institutional, oblique entrances to the apartments. The entrances, with metal doors with a single central window, enter the apartments on an angle between the living room and the dining-kitchen areas. The arc-shape of the building and its galleries further enhances the feeling of individual distinction between the apartments on a single floor.

The typical floor plan in the two 22-story buildings at the Hilliard Center includes eight apartments. A set of two two-bedroom apartments brackets the ends of each floor. In between are located one one-bedroom, one four-bedroom, and two three-bedroom apartments. Two elevators, an elevator lobby, and a laundry room stand in the center of each floor, running from the gallery through to a single bay module in the rear facade. There are a total of 346 apartments in the two 22-story buildings.

The one-story Hilliard Center community building stands in sharp contrast to the adjacent residential buildings. The low elevation contrasts with the high; the square plan contrasts with the cylindrical and arced plans; the floor-to-ceiling windows contrast with reinforced concrete walls; the crisp precision of the

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community building details contrasts with the rough concrete details of the residential buildings; and the formality of the traditional twelve piers supporting the overhanging flat roof contrasts with the modern plastic forms of the towers. The community building is divided into numerous offices, workshops, meeting rooms, bathrooms, and other service spaces.

The Hilliard Center open-air amphitheater stands northeast of the community building, toward the center of site. The reinforced concrete amphitheater covers an area approximately 104 feet by 104 feet. Seats are disposed on a semi-circular plan within a square plan facing a stage area. The amphitheater is eight feet from top to bottom and is partially recessed below the ground level. A peripheral earthen berm is built up to the top of the amphitheater and six tiers of seats step down to the base. Three flights of stairs add intermediate steps between the seating levels. A flat plaza occupies the space between the top of the amphitheater and the surrounding earthen berm.

The overall condition of the Hilliard Center Historic District is very good. No major changes have been made to the original exterior form of the buildings. The basic character of the interior spaces and plan of the buildings maintain a high degree of original integrity. All of the Center's buildings are standing and in good shape. The Hilliard Center Historic District maintains a high level of its original architectural integrity. The original site plan and relationship between buildings and between buildings and open spaces have a high degree of their original integrity. Some of the units in the family buildings are vacant and awaiting interior and largely cosmetic renovations.

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8. SIGNIFICANCE

The Raymond M. Hilliard Center Historic District meets Criteria A and C for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Hilliard Center, a public housing project designed by Chicago architect Bertrand Goldberg, opened in 1966, only thirty-three years ago. However, the Hilliard Center's exceptional importance means that the project merits National Register listing under Criterion Consideration G, established for buildings achieving significance within the last fifty years. The Hilliard Center was almost immediately recognized as possessing great significance within Chicago's public housing movement. Moreover, the initial recognition accorded to the design has stood the test of time and has been reflected in subsequent scholarly treatments by historians of Chicago architecture, urbanism, and public housing. The Hilliard Center has enjoyed continued recognition even in the face of critical and at times damning reappraisals of the modern architecture and urbanism that characterized public housing and urban renewal programs. The Hilliard Center will undoubtedly continue to enjoy prominence in any assessment of the history of Chicago's twentieth-century public housing and urban renewal.

Both contemporary observers and subsequent scholars have cast the radical design and social innovations at the Hilliard Center as bright spots in a fairly bleak design, institutional, and social history of Chicago public housing, particularly in the post-World War II era of high-rise construction. The Hilliard Center design richly embodies that history and is exceptionally important in marking a new approach to the design of Chicago's public housing. The Hilliard Center possesses Criterion A local significance in its reflection of broad patterns of Chicago's history and the notable federal and local efforts to use public powers and public money to promote slum clearance, to renew the city, and to provide modern, low-cost urban housing. This project relates specifically to the area of Social History in reflecting efforts to promote the welfare of Chicago and its residents. It also reflects the area of Politics/Government in its connection to legislative efforts to fund and promote public housing for poor people, urban renewal, and the more recent efforts to provide specialized housing for poorer elderly citizens. The Hilliard Center also has Criterion C local significance in that it embodies the distinctive stylistic possibilities of modern reinforced concrete architecture; it possesses notable artistic value and looms large as a defining monument in Bertrand Goldberg's celebrated career. Moreover, the Hilliard Center has Criterion C local significance in relation to Community Planning and Development because it represents the physical renewal of cities and areas considered blighted and embodies a distinct form of modern

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urbanism--with high-rise residential towers occupying large, fairly open, urban superblocks.

Taking measure of the exceptional significance of the Hilliard Center design involves assessing the project in the context of the history of Chicago high-rise public housing construction. People quickly recognized and applauded the design departure that the Hilliard Center represented. In 1965 Arthur Siegel edited a book titled Chicago's Famous Buildings; Bertrand Goldberg's 60-story Marina City towers stood with Mies van der Rohe's 860-880 Lake Shore Drive Apartments as exemplars of modern high-rise, inner-city living. In 1969, when he increased the number of "famous" buildings in his second edition from 93 to 112, Siegel included the Hilliard Center. The entry declared that the Hilliard Center "is a public housing group of the Chicago Housing Authority--one that stands radically at odds with the depressing institutional character of most such buildings."¹ When the Hilliard Center was planned Chicago had been building high-rise public housing for only fifteen years. That period was more than enough to stir controversy in housing, planning, and political circles. Chicago's public housing and slum clearance movement had started in the 1930s under the auspices of the federal government's Public Works Administration. Depression-era projects, like the 1,027 unit Jane Addams Houses, and subsequent World War II public housing projects were all constructed using low-rise apartment and row house models.

In 1948 the Chicago Housing Authority built the 800-unit Dearborn Homes. Located along State Street between 27th and 30th streets, the Dearborn Homes were comprised of 16 six- and nine-story elevator buildings. The Chicago Housing Authority thus inaugurated a massive program of high-rise construction. The Authority outlined the rationale for high-rises when it introduced the plans for the Dearborn Homes: "The departure to elevator apartments . . . was made to reduce the land coverage to 10 percent of the area. Children profit by this design, for it makes possible larger play space outdoors."² Further commenting on Loeb, Schlossman, and Bennett's design for the Dearborn Homes the Authority reported, "to overcome the disadvantages of tall apartment house living for families with small children, there are to be widened corridors on each floor, well lighted by large windows, and devoted to play space for the smallest ones. Each building will be far enough away from the rest so that every bit of light and air can be enjoyed in all the apartments. The Authority is frank in stating that this development will be an experiment, but . . . it fully expects the venture to be a happy one."³

The towers-in-the-park model of modern urbanism, evocatively articulated by Le Corbusier in the 1920s, provided an attractive theoretical foundation for the

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high-rise housing program. Walter Gropius, the influential modern architect and chair of architecture at the Harvard Graduate School of Design embraced the high-rise vision in a 1952 article exploring the place of high-rise construction in the public housing program. He insisted "The multi-storied building is a direct embodiment of the needs of our age, which have become crowded-on-the-ground city districts and where the disadvantages of a too much spreading type of urban development is to be avoided . . . If the 'horizontal' building type of two-story detached, semi-detached, and row houses were exclusively carried to its logical conclusion in the city, the result would be such a disintegration of the city as to spell its antithesis. . . . multi-storied blocks offer the advantages of loosening up the overcrowding on the ground (less coverage), of larger green areas between the buildings, more light, air, and tranquility, and better view[s]."⁴

The modern high-rise model promised an especially powerful antidote to the "blight" of dense urban blocks crowded with a messy hodgepodge of older subdivided houses and tenements intermingled with stores and small industries. The Dearborn Homes and many subsequent high-rise projects rose upon sites cleared of their dense, and often deteriorated and maligned, nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century urban fabric. These projects, set on new superblocks made up of smaller blocks in the Chicago grid, were conceived as monumental alternatives to traditional urban form. They gave palpable shape to the radical reform vision of urban renewal. Still, the concern about children at play and the possibilities for proper parental supervision hung over high-rise design debates.

Built with stringent federal limits on costs and with little innovation, high-rise projects received little interest in architectural circles. When praise came it tended to focus narrowly on one or another particular aspect of the design. For example, the cross-plan and wide interior halls in the Dearborn Homes meant that just four apartments opened on each hallway segment and defined interior play areas. In Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill's Ogden Courts, opened at Ogden and Fairfield streets on Chicago's West Side in 1950. In this project Skidmore introduced the open-air gallery, providing exterior circulation to the individual units. The galleries in effect gave each apartment "a kind of back porch, and made possible cross-ventilation for bordering apartments." The galleries eliminated interior hallways, lowered the cost of circulation space, and, at least in theory, attended to the problems posed by having children living in high-rise buildings. The exterior gallery appeared in many subsequent projects and was appropriated, in a somewhat different form, in Goldberg's Hilliard Center design. Loomis Courts, opened in 1951 at Loomis Boulevard and 14th Place on Chicago's West Side, was

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similarly commended for its exterior galleries and its imaginative site planning.⁵ In the twenty-five years after planning Dearborn Homes the Chicago Housing Authority built over 27,000 apartments in high-rise projects, including nearly 20,000 units for families.

After only a decade of building and with 73 high-rise buildings standing many public housing advocates, planners, and tenants began to express disillusion with the result of "the experiment" which was turning out to be far from "happy."⁶ In 1957 Ruth Moore wrote a series in the Chicago Sun-Times pointing out the numerous difficulties with high-rise public housing. The headlines asserted "Children + Skyscrapers = Trouble," and "CHA Planners Are Prisoners of Towers." Moore quoted William B. Kean, the former executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority as saying "All of the CHA staff, including the planners, managers, and administrators, agree that high-rise buildings for medium and large-size families are not the right thing." Moore reported the "grim experience" of broken elevators, broken families, crime, gangs, and the inability of "mothers . . . to more easily watch their children." Moore started her report with the assertion, "Put some 400 children and 200 adults into one 16-story elevator apartment and there is trouble. Serious trouble. The Chicago Housing Authority . . . is struggling constantly with the destruction and disorganization produced by the unsuitable, explosive mixture of children and tall buildings."⁷ Alvin Rose, William Kean's successor at the CHA, also recognized that apartments "create problems for families with children." Still housing officials felt hemmed in by the Chicago City Council's unwillingness to make available cheap peripheral un-built sites for public housing and by the federal government's ceiling on costs; this made high-rise housing seem the only viable alternative on the relatively expensive central city sites that had to be condemned and cleared before being used for public housing. For a short time in the late 1950s the CHA officially advocated a return to low-rise projects but then abandoned the effort arguing that without local and federal policy changes it would need three times as much land to house the same number of people as could be accommodated in high rises.⁸

After abandoning further plans for a low-rise housing program in the late 1950s the Chicago Housing Authority actually accelerated high-rise construction. This work involved the planning and construction of Chicago's largest housing project, the Robert Taylor Homes, designed by Shaw, Metz and Associates and completed in 1962. Taylor Homes had 4,312 units in twenty-eight identical 16-story buildings located on a quarter-mile-wide, two-mile long, 95-acre site along State Street between Pershing Road and 54th Street. The project housed 28,000 people and

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quickly came to symbolize a public housing movement that had gone horribly awry. In 1965 M. W. Newman published a newspaper profile of the Taylor development under the headline "Chicago's \$70 Million Ghetto." He wrote that "The vandalism is atrocious. Rampaging youngsters, when the mood strikes, jam elevators, break corridor lights, open fire hydrants in stairways and floor corridors. . . . Life is so cheap in the closed-off world that assaults, gang-fighting, purse-snatching and rape are routine. The crack of gunfire is heard often." People had been killed by objects thrown from the open-air galleries.⁹

When Charles Swibel, chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority, responded to Newman's series he admitted that the project was too big and at times "unwieldy." But he insisted that the majority of the people living in the Taylor Homes were good lawful citizens who desperately needed public housing. He then argued that high-rise was the only feasible solution: "walk-up buildings are rapidly passing from the urban scene whether they be built for low-income, middle-income, or high-income families. Virtually all new construction in the city is high-rise. Families who either must or want to live in an urban area will have to learn to live with the high-rise building, for all large centers of population must plan for accommodating an ever increasing number of people within a prescribed land area . . . public housing . . . will have to share in the task of teaching them how to live in elevator buildings."¹⁰ Nevertheless, historian Carl Condit concluded that the Taylor project was "undoubtedly the worst example of low-income housing ever conceived in the history of the program, . . . a vast urban disaster."¹¹

From Chicago's public housing discussions in the 1950s it had become clear that there was no consensus concerning the form of public housing. Moreover, an active coalition of civic organizations, civil rights groups, planners, and tenant groups had formed to oppose high-rise public housing. Robert Taylor Homes and many other projects seemed to confirm the growing public disillusion with high-rise public housing. Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) further elevated the debate with its devastating analysis of high-rise projects, modern architecture, and modern urbanism. The rising tide of opposition in Chicago and elsewhere to prevailing public housing form provided the backdrop against which the Hilliard Center project took shape. In important ways the Hilliard Center fundamentally adhered to the basic tenets of high-rise developments--elevator buildings and low percentages of site coverage. The family buildings even incorporated, albeit more artfully, the ubiquitous open-air galleries of other projects. However, it significantly boosted design and aesthetic values in an effort to counter the monotonous uniformity of high-rise projects and the growing demands for a

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complete halt on high-rise construction. In 1952 Chicago architect Harry Weese had argued that public housing shouldn't be forced into an "either-or" position on high-rises. He felt that "the rubber stamping of uninspired designs" and the inexcusable construction of identical buildings had damaged the cause of elevator buildings and understandably brought down the "community wrath, which is directed at their most obvious feature, their height. They deserve criticism for many other and better reasons." Weese insisted that more interesting and creative architectural and urban design could save the high-rise as part of the public housing movement.¹² A decade later the elevator building was even less popular and Weese's ideas seemed even more compelling. At this point Charles Swibel and the Housing Authority board tried something new—more creative design and more interesting community planning. Bertrand Goldberg, coming off of his fantastically successful collaboration with Charles Swibel on the private Marina City development, touted for its innovative design and ambitious community planning, seemed like someone who could successfully put a new face on public housing.

The Hilliard Center project originated in 1962 as an elderly housing project. Despite growing numbers of elderly tenants, the Housing Authority had not historically built projects specifically for elderly residents. In 1959 the Housing Authority built the Lathrop Apartments, an eight story, 92 unit building on the north branch of the Chicago River for the exclusive residence of elderly tenants. The federal government then funded its own elderly housing program and in 1961 the high-rise Washington Park Apartments on the South Side became Chicago's first federally funded housing for the elderly. This program proved far more popular than the family program and few people objected to high-rises when they accommodated elderly residents.¹³ The elderly housing site unanimously approved for purchase by the City Council on June 1, 1962 ran from State Street to Clark Street, Cermak Road to 21st Street; the site purchase provided for an extension of the Housing Authority's commitment to elderly housing and represented the southern half of what became the Hilliard Center's final site.

When the federal Public Housing Administration officials reviewed plans for the Cermak and State project they objected to the site. They felt that the blocks immediately north of the site provided a particularly unattractive setting for the project. These blocks were filled with junk yards, automobile parts stores and factories, and deteriorated residential and commercial buildings. They objected to building new structures in such an unattractive neighborhood. It was precisely this sort of adjacent fabric that urban renewal land clearance programs aimed to eliminate. The proposal for a larger site would go a long way toward eliminating

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the vestiges of what had been one of Chicago's most infamous neighborhoods at the turn of the twentieth century--the Levee. The neighborhood had first been settled in the 1870s and 1880s and was dominated by the car barns of the Chicago City Railway Company, which operated street railway lines. Starting in the 1890s the district between 16th Street on the north, 22nd Street on the south, Wabash Avenue on the east and Clark Street on the west became the city's largest area of vice and prostitution. The streets were lined with saloons, variety theaters, concert halls, gambling and pool parlors, and over 500 bordellos, with an estimated four to five thousand prostitutes.

In 1910 when the United States federal census enumerator visited the 2100 block of Dearborn--in the center of what later became the Hilliard Center site--he found one bordello next to another next to another. He dutifully recorded the names of all of the residents including those at the Everleigh Club, the most exclusive and fashionable house of prostitution in the city. Located at 2131-2133 S. Dearborn the Everleigh Club's luxurious grand ballroom and back parlor bedrooms occupied the site where the south half of the Hilliard Center's southern cylindrical elderly housing tower was later built. In the census Minna and Aida Everleigh, aged 36 and 37, respectively, are listed as the head of the household. Their profession is listed in the census as "resort keeper--ill repute." Living with the Everleigh sisters were 25 single white women in their 20s who were born in such places as California, Texas, Illinois, Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kentucky, Iowa, and North Carolina. Their trade was euphemistically recorded as "inmate." The Everleigh, with its three orchestras constantly playing, had a library, an art gallery, a dining room, and twelve private parlors with their own distinct names and decor--Gold, Moorish, Silver, Copper, Red, Rose, Green, Blue, Oriental, Chinese, Egyptian, and Japanese. Though it was the classiest establishment in Chicago, the Everleigh Club shared the 2100 block of South Dearborn with 18 other resorts and nearly 200 prostitutes. In 1910, the bordello at 2026 South Dearborn, the site that would become the western-most family building in the Hilliard Center, was run by a 44 year old madame from France who had immigrated in 1893. The Everleigh Club was closed down by Chicago's mayor in 1911 but prostitution continued to thrive in the surrounding area even as the center of Chicago vice moved further south. The Everleigh Club building was demolished in 1933 and stood as the storage yard for a used heating and plumbing business when it was taken over by Chicago Housing Authority in 1962.¹⁴

When federal officials objected to the conditions on adjacent blocks, with their storied history, the Chicago Housing Authority conceived of a new type of

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housing development, one that mixed elderly and family housing together. On a site expanded northward there was the chance that high-rise family housing might now ride the coattails of the more popular and less controversial elderly housing program. But more importantly the Authority hoped that the elderly program might prove a stabilizing and helpful presence for the children and their families. In January, 1963 the Authority, Mayor Daley, and Bertrand Goldberg optimistically unveiled preliminary plans for the enlarged project. They all pointed to the plan's social and architectural innovation. Mayor Daley announced that: "This will be one of the most interesting and finest of projects." Bertrand Goldberg said, "We are trying to bring in some new concepts that will make the buildings a pleasure to young and old." The hope was that the project would attract retired artists, musicians, and actors "who might teach some of their arts to children in the adjoining family buildings." From the beginning the expanded plan included an open-air amphitheater that would "emphasize the arts character of the buildings." During poor weather such activity could be moved into the project's community building. Goldberg stated that the hope was that "older people will assist the children in putting on shows, pageants, and other performances." There were also areas for bike riding and roller skating and "again the elderly will be asked to supervise their use." The plan, at least in terms of its conception and symbolism, seemed to address the concerns about the difficulties of supervising children in high-rise developments. As part of this there was also a clear interest in inter-generational ideals of community. The community spaces and the way in which the curved family buildings seemed to embrace and establish a clear spatial reciprocity with the elderly buildings pointed to the broader social aspirations of the novel combination of elderly and family housing development.¹⁵

Both the Housing Authority and the public viewed Bertrand Goldberg as an architect who could produce designs expressive of the social and institutional reforms in Chicago's public housing program. Born in Chicago in 1913, Goldberg had studied at Harvard, at the German Bauhaus under the direction of Mies van der Rohe, and finally at Chicago's Armour Institute of Technology. At these institutions he was schooled in architectural innovation, especially in exploring new aesthetic dimensions of building materials and technology. As Chicago architects in the orbit of Mies established the city's reputation for modern architecture, Bertrand Goldberg pushed the limits of the modern in innovative and unconventional directions. Mies and his immediate followers explored the expressive aesthetic possibilities of steel frame construction; but, Bertrand Goldberg looked to new construction technologies and materials and developed a novel

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design vocabulary. Goldberg felt he was working within the design principles of Mies but at the same time he gained notoriety as a rebel pushing beyond the codified verities of modernism.

Michel Ragon, a historian of Goldberg's work, describes Goldberg's "rupture with orthogonal steel architecture" that had characterized the modern forms rooted in the Bauhaus. Goldberg felt that reinforced concrete construction had "remained dependent for too long on the post and beam," orthogonal construction. In Ragon's view, Goldberg's work introduced a "breath of lyricism and a completely new poetic into contemporary architecture." Goldberg insisted that he was "revolting against a century of static space, against the straight line, against the idea of man made in the image of the machine."¹⁶ Goldberg admired more organic models for his architecture in preference to the rectilinear lines of steel frame construction. At essence, Goldberg insisted that his use of formed concrete and circular forms aimed at an economy of material, constructed ideal community spaces around central service cores and created dynamic interiors; he viewed his architecture as rooted in structural and spatial principles rather than a mere search for aesthetic novelty.

Goldberg's 1959 design for Chicago's Marina City boosted his reputation as a rebel against the box, the grid, and the "right-angle thinking" of contemporary modernists. When he later took on the Hilliard Center project, the strong formal geometries, petal-like exteriors, and reinforced concrete structure established a strong link in the public mind between the Hilliard Center and Marina City. One 1963 headline reporting the preliminary plans for the Hilliard Center declared, "Plan 'Marina City' Units on S. Side." At a later date another headline read: "Raymond Hilliard Center, Poor Man's Marina City." With the Hilliard Center the Chicago Housing Authority attempted to tap the enthusiasm, good press, and benign urban images that had accrued to Goldberg's Marina City. Ruth Moore termed the Hilliard Center "one of the city's most unusual building groups. In newness of concept, structural design, and appearance, the project . . . will compare to Marina City."¹⁷

Marina City had been boldly undertaken to attract middle-class residents to live downtown and to counter the migration of wealthier people out of the city. After years of post-war uncertainty about the fate of Chicago's central business district, Marina City's two cylindrical 60-story residential towers, with their lower floors given over to parking, and the adjacent office building, theater, and mixed-use retail and entertainment spaces, seemed to promise a bright future for downtown Chicago. As the earliest reports of the Hilliard Center project pointed out, Marina City had "attracted world-wide attention." Indeed, Goldberg had emerged as something of an apostle of high-rise living since Marina City was, at the

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time of construction, the tallest residential structure in the world. He had insisted, "We think this is the way people will want to live in the center of a city."¹⁸ Reviewing Marina City critic John Morris Dixon pointed out that the "startlingly unconventional form" had an "immediate appeal for the public as symbols of Space Age urbanity."¹⁹ Since 1959, with the earliest designs for Marina City, Goldberg occupied a position of authority when it came to articulating the advantages of high-rise urban living and thus stood in a good position to transform the impressions of high-rise public housing.

The attention given Marina City went far beyond the architectural press. The building's urbanity and modernity meant that it became the backdrop for any number of promotions of Chicago living and of consumer products and businesses. In 1964 Look Magazine published an article titled "Living On the Top," which profiled Sandy and John Dienhart, residents of the top floor of Marina City, for whom "the 21st century is already here." People in Marina City enjoyed gracious, convenient, living and entertaining. Goldberg, the "rebel Chicago architect," seemed likely to "profoundly influence U.S. apartment architecture." Charles Swibel, Marina City's developer and later the chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority was singled out in the Saturday Evening Post as someone "on the way up" who was changing the way people viewed urban living.²⁰ Marina City rose as "a city within a city," exclusive, urbane, convenient, a place where people could "live securely above the noise of the city and above the fall-out of city dirt" with great views and dynamic interior spaces.²¹ Goldberg patterned key elements of the Hilliard Center on Marina City and seemingly offered hope that he could transform the form and image of Chicago public housing.

The associations of the Hilliard Center with Marina City at times seemed to threaten the realization of the project. Bertrand Goldberg and the Housing Authority had to fight very hard with federal officials to be able to build the design. Interviewed in 1973 Goldberg insisted that: "It took me two years of fighting with our federal government in Washington to permit me to build this. First of all they said it would be too expensive. I said we would take the risk. If it is too expensive, don't pay me for my architecture. Then they said, 'It's too good for these people.' . . . That is very Anglo-Saxon Protestant. That is punishing the poor because they have not been thrifty. . . . It was bad because such housing would make the people satisfied with being poor, you see. If you have pleasant surroundings, then there is no longer the need to move up in the economic hierarchy." Goldberg was told to change the design. He then complained to Swibel that the federal attitude was the same as book burning. Swibel used his political connections in Chicago and

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Washington to pressure the federal government into approving the design.²² Goldberg viewed his victory as making possible a more humane recognition that "the indigent are a permanent part of our society. Their architecture must meet them and recognize them and not simply store them."²³

Tentative federal approval of the Goldberg design in 1964 did not completely clear the way for the construction of the Hilliard Center. There was still strong opposition to the project in Chicago. There were many people who didn't want to see more high-rise family housing no matter how interesting the design. There were also growing objections to the fact that most public housing was being built in black neighborhoods and reinforcing Chicago's pattern of racial segregation. Other people and institutions objected to any addition to the State Street public housing "wall" which already stretched over four miles south of Cermak Road. Moreover, South Side institutions like Illinois Institute of Technology and Michael Reese Hospital had sponsored their own urban renewal programs, had worked hard to attract middle-class residents to the area, and didn't want to see further expansion of public housing projects.²⁴

In June, 1964 Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Egan, the director of the office of urban affairs for Chicago's Roman Catholic archdiocese requested that the Chicago Housing Authority defer planning and construction on the Hilliard Center. In particular, he asked that the Authority undertake a study of the effects of high-rise buildings on poor families. He wondered whether any kind of "community sense" could be stimulated in a 22-story building. Egan asked, "Is an 'elevator culture' the best possible—or even a good—starting point for families which already have great difficulties with the expectations of an urban society? And the fact that we do not know is sufficient cause for us to stop and look."²⁵ In December, 1964 Egan returned to the Authority with people representing Illinois Institute of Technology, the Church Federation of Metropolitan Chicago, the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, the Urban League, the NAACP, and the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council who all opposed the project and called for the construction of an integrated high school on the site in the place of housing. Even in opposing the plan some people complimented the evidence of innovation they recognized in the project. Thomas L. Nicholson, president of the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, affirmed his organization's three decades of support for public housing and insisted that his organization recognized "merit in the design of the project—in fact, we think it represents a significant advance in the esthetic of public housing. [Moreover], we think it embodies an important new idea; in this project housing for the elderly is not isolated from the general community, but is part of a community

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including housing for families with children. Despite these positive aspects we remain fundamentally opposed to the building of this project."²⁶ Charles Swibel agreed to delay the project and hired a consultant to study the best uses for the site. In January, 1965, the consultant supported the construction of housing on the site, based on principles of "sound city planning" and the general correspondence between the project and various master plans for the near South Side. With support from the consultant the Housing Authority quickly moved ahead with construction.²⁷

As the project moved ahead the favorable design reviews, that even opponents of the Hilliard Center had offered, continued. The Journal of Housing praised the project in an article titled "Variety in Design Marks New Elderly Housing in Chicago." Architectural Forum initially saw Goldberg as "continuing his exploration of scalloped form . . . [in a design] that defies convention yet stays within the strict confines of PHA's spatial and budgetary regulations." A local newspaper pointed to the public enthusiasm around State and Cermak for the "beehive look" of the "sculptural grouping" of buildings. The Architectural Forum later devoted a full and enthusiastic article to the \$11,650,000 project titled "Goldberg's Variations on Chicago Public Housing."²⁸

Quite apart from changing the face of the public housing program, Goldberg succeeded in making exceptional contributions to the increasingly expressive qualities of modern reinforced concrete construction. Chicago had notable nineteenth-century buildings constructed with concrete, like the Nixon Block built in 1870.²⁹ However, most of these early buildings simply substituted concrete in the place of wooden or metal framing elements and did little to change the aesthetic treatment of the building's facade. As architectural historian Robert Brueggemann has pointed out, when reinforced concrete frames came into common use at the turn of the twentieth century, architects generally continued designing brick and masonry facades that did little to reveal the structural system or its material.³⁰ Schmidt, Garden and Martin's massive, nine-story Montgomery Ward Warehouse, constructed on the Chicago River between 1906 and 1908, included foundations, columns, floors, and walls of reinforced concrete, but the exterior spandrels and corner piers were covered in brick. An unusual feature of Montgomery Ward was that the cornice was left as exposed concrete. Later reinforced concrete structures like Mies van der Rohe's 1948-49 Promontory Apartments in Chicago did expose the structural system of posts and beams on the building exteriors, while filling the spandrels with brick and glass. I. M. Pei's University Apartments (1961) in Chicago's Hyde Park neighborhood, Skidmore Owings and Merrill's Brunswick Building

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(1964) and Gateway Plaza (1972), and Harry Weese's LaSalle Plaza (1974), built in downtown Chicago, all revealed the concrete frame as an integral feature of the facade. Nevertheless, the unevenness of the exterior color, produced in separate batches of concrete, still led many architects to design their reinforced concrete buildings with some form of exterior cladding. Moreover, these projects still rendered reinforced concrete structures in the box-like form of post and beam framed buildings. Bertrand Goldberg's designs for Marina City, the Hilliard Center, and numerous hospital complexes represented a notable departure from earlier aesthetic and technological treatments of reinforced concrete.

Starting with Marina City and the Hilliard Center, Goldberg joined a handful of modern architects who set out to explore the novel formal and expressive possibilities of reinforced concrete. Eero Saarinen's TWA terminal at New York's Kennedy International Airport (1956-1962), as well as his Ingalls Hockey Rink at Yale (1956-59) and Dulles International Airport (1958-1962), and Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum (1959), and Louis Kahn's Salk Institute in La Jolla, California (1959-1965), all moved reinforced concrete toward more expressive exterior forms and away from the rectilinear qualities of previous structural systems. Moreover, in the 1950s Spanish architect Felix Candela had formulated his new design philosophy that looked at the potential of reinforced concrete for forming structural shells and transcending older post and beam structures. Candela designed over 900 buildings with reinforced concrete shells. For his part Goldberg felt that he was more of a structural rationalist than the architects who treated building form as sculpture. He drew on his Bauhaus training and his early affinity for Mies van der Rohe to insist that there was a structural and spatial rationale for the key elements of his design, quite apart from issues of formal expression. Marina City and the Hilliard Center stood among the highest buildings and most dramatic uses of reinforced concrete in the world. The buildings moved reinforced concrete far beyond the box-like form into the realm of dramatic plastic expressive possibility. Not surprisingly, given his critical enthusiasm for modern structurally expressive architecture, Carl Condit singled Goldberg out at the conclusion of his 1964 book on Chicago architecture. Pointing to Marina City Condit argued that "this work alone is a stunning exhibition of the unparalleled and inexhaustible power of the city's great building tradition."³¹ Marina City still employed piers and beams but tied them into a central structural and utility core that gave the high buildings their stability. With Hilliard, the exterior shell of the building itself provided the structural support for the building. Harry Weese's Metropolitan Correctional Center (1975), built on Van Buren Street in downtown Chicago, was built of reinforced concrete in the shape of

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a triangle and reflects some of the same innovative spatial and structural logic as Goldberg's earlier buildings. Goldberg gave reinforced concrete a new architectural expression in Chicago. In doing so he joined Chicago architecture to a growing neo-expressionist current in the American and international modern movement.³²

Part of the enthusiasm for Goldberg's work was reflected in the fact that the Housing Authority hoped to name its new "ultra-modern" project after Illinois's favorite son, Adlai E. Stevenson. This seemed appropriate for what Goldberg characterized "an exciting new design of public housing." The sudden death of Raymond M. Hilliard, Cook County's esteemed public aid director led to a reconsideration of the Stevenson plan. Hilliard who had spent his life advocating on behalf of the welfare of the poor, crusading against slum housing, and supporting Medicare, job training, and education for the poor seemed an appropriate person to memorialize with the CHA's new project.³³ It was further reported that "nearly all" of the new tenants at the Hilliard Center "have spoken enthusiastically of its design." For many people it seemed that Goldberg had made some progress in the "effort to show that a high-rise environment need not be a hostile one for the urban poor."³⁴ The project also attracted an integrated population, very much at odds with the segregated patterns in other projects.

The critical enthusiasm that greeted the Hilliard Center when it opened has carried over into the assessment of historians and scholars who have recognized the exceptional importance of the Hilliard Center project. Historian Carl Condit, for example, introduced his 1974 discussion of the Hilliard Center by saying: "The program of low-income housing for the elderly proved enough of a stimulus to the architectural imagination to lead to one work of genuine distinction in site planning, design, and structural character. . . . The [Hilliard Center] project is unique not only to public housing but at the time of completion to the building art in general, and with respect to the physical fabric itself, it at least suggests a long-hoped-for promise of better things to come. . . . The repetitive pattern of swelling curves, the external galleries and stairways of the higher buildings, and the brightly colored doors add a lively visual interest to these unusual structures."³⁵ In surveying the entire architectural and institutional history of Chicago public housing, historian Devereux Bowly, Jr. concluded that the "Hilliard Center is perhaps architecturally the most well known of all CHA projects."³⁶ In 1993 when the American Institute of Architects published its authoritative Chicago architectural guide, thirty years after the Hilliard Center design, it captured the continuing high regard for the project reporting: "The revolutionary design theories that Goldberg developed for Marina City were applied here to the problem of public housing, creating what is still

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regarded as one of the city's best examples of humane high-rise living for low-income families.³⁷ When architectural historian Betty Blum interviewed Goldberg for the Chicago Architects Oral History Project she pointed to the Hilliard Center as "a singular success among Chicago Housing Authority projects."³⁸

Looking back thirty years after he designed the Hilliard Center, Bertrand Goldberg felt he had succeeded in changing the image of public housing and that he "put to bed" the negative generalizations about high-rises and family living: "This, I think, is simply because the architecture gave a message that we were building a community, we respected a humanism which that community wanted or deserved, and we simply weren't storing people, which has been the general message of unsuccessful public housing." As Goldberg looked back upon his career, the Hilliard Center loomed large as a particularly important project for exploring his design, structural, and theoretical agenda. When Bertrand Goldberg died in 1997 the New York Times ran his obituary under the headline "Architect Reshaped Chicago." The Hilliard Center stood as one of five projects singled out for mention. The Chicago Sun-Times obituary ran with a headline "Made Mark with Marina City," and again the Hilliard Center stood out among only four projects specifically mentioned; the article noted that most big-name architects "choked" when commissioned to do public housing but "Mr. Goldberg did wonders." Likewise, Michel Ragon's 1985 book Goldberg: On the City featured the Hilliard Center project prominently among the architect's great works.³⁹

The Hilliard Center design shed considerable light on the somewhat dreary history of high-rise public housing. By bringing a more innovative design, materials, and planning palette to the problem Bertrand Goldberg suggested important new possibilities. When the Housing Authority published a book in 1972 titled The New Look in Public Housing for Families Goldberg might have expected to find the Hilliard Center featured as central to that new look. Sadly, in his view, events had overtaken his design innovation. By the time the Hilliard Center opened in 1966 the resistance to high-rises that had shadowed its early planning had become a formidable opposition movement. In 1965, even after losing the battle over the Hilliard Center, Msgr. Egan had continued to crusade against high-rises. He declared in an address to the City Club of Chicago that "I know the high-rise buildings are not good for families. I feel that it is incumbent on us to build public housing in low buildings all over the city. I also feel that the human values are so great that the federal government should change its land cost regulations to permit the construction of low public housing buildings also in the inner part of the city."⁴⁰

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Stanley Tigerman and other architects had also begun to draw up plans that suggested that low-rise units could be provided as inexpensively as high-rise.⁴¹

The real change in building policy came when the American Civil Liberties Union sued the Chicago Housing Authority for its entrenched pattern of public housing segregation and discrimination. The suit asserted that the pattern of concentrating high-rise projects in black neighborhoods made them inaccessible to white residents and limited the free choice and access to federally-funded subsidized housing on the part of both black and white residents of Chicago. In 1969 U. S. District Court Judge Richard B. Austin ruled against the Housing Authority and put in place a plan for ending the historic pattern of segregation and racial concentration in public housing. He ordered, among other things, that the next 700 units of public housing had to be built in areas of the city dominated by whites and that thereafter three units would be built in white neighborhoods for every one unit built in black neighborhoods. The most profound changes from previous public housing patterns came not with changes in neighborhood setting. Rather, they came with the changes in building form and style mandated by Judge Austin. He placed a limit of three stories on family housing and absolutely prohibited the construction of anymore high-rise family housing by the Housing Authority. He viewed the high-rise as implicated in the Housing Authority's history of concentrating and segregating black tenants. Austin also barred the construction of family projects that would accommodate more than 120 people except in unusual circumstances where the number could rise to 240 residents. The new family units would be built at scattered sites and would be made compatible with the design, the materials, and the quality of construction of the neighborhood in which they were located.⁴²

The outcome of the litigation against the Housing Authority meant that the Hilliard Center's 22-story buildings rose as the last of the high-rise family public housing built in Chicago. The Hilliard Center's form presented a design response to the history and politics of family public housing in Chicago. Goldberg's work eclipsed the aesthetically and architecturally modest forms of the earliest elderly housing projects, the Lathrop Apartments and Washington Park Apartments. The Hilliard Center contributed to a tradition of high-rise, architecturally distinct, elderly housing that continues today in Chicago. Moreover, the design reflected a new humanism that soon pervaded the subsequent family housing projects. Like the Hilliard Center the design for low-rise family housing set-out to cultivate images of neighborhood and community that had shaped key elements of the Hilliard Center project; however, rather than relying upon total site planning to build community, the new projects depended on existing neighborhood form and infrastructure. The

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Hilliard Center community building and open-space amphitheater with their provision for formal meetings, performances, workshops, library reading, and classes as well as their anticipation of informal patterns of socializing among tenants, drew upon a long tradition of community public housing design. Public housing often aimed to provide such non-commercialized civic spaces as an integral element of constituting, or reconstituting, community in the context of urban renewal. As the Housing Authority turned to scattered sites, low density, and existing neighborhood structures the goal of massive slum clearance fell away from the goal of providing public housing. The Housing Authority's New Look in Public Housing for Families thus featured low-rise, in-fill, projects; to drive home the "new look" the publication showed a picture of a Robert Taylor building and placed an "X" mark across the image; with its notable mixing of elderly and family housing the Hilliard Center was published without an "X" mark. Bertrand Goldberg, who remained a leading advocate of high-rise, high-density housing, bemoaned the movement for height restriction that he viewed as an "unfortunate intrusions of social protest into architectural problems."⁴³ Goldberg felt he had made progress in solving the architectural problems of high-rise public housing. In that regard the buildings do indeed have exceptional importance and they are indeed an exception to the forms of Chicago's broader public housing movement. They simply could not reverse twenty-years of unhappiness over high-rise living which continued to unfold in the life of the projects even after the Housing Authority stopped building them. However, Hilliard Center has seemed largely immune from the problems that swirled around the other high-rise projects.

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¹ Chicago's Famous Buildings, edited by Arthur Siegel, 2nd edition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), xx.

² Chicago Housing Authority, The Tenth Year of the Chicago Housing Authority, (Chicago: Chicago Housing Authority, 1947), 18.

³ Chicago Housing Authority, Report to the Mayor. For Year 1945, (Chicago: Chicago Housing Authority, 1946), no pagination.

⁴ "High-Rise Housing--Does It Have A Place in the Public Housing Program?," Journal of Housing, 9 (January 1952): 46-47, 60.

⁵ Chicago Housing Authority, Public Housing in Chicago: Up to Now, (Chicago: Chicago Housing Authority, 1951, n.p.; Progressive Architecture, (May, 1951).

⁶ This is how the high-rise experiment had been characterized in the 1940s; see: Chicago Housing Authority, Report to the Mayor. For Year 1945, (Chicago: Chicago Housing Authority, 1946), no pagination.

⁷ Ruth Moore, "CHA Planners Are Prisoners of Towers," Chicago Sun-Times, 4 September 1957.

⁸ See, "City Will Back Slum Clearance Row Houses," Chicago Sun-Times, 13 December 1957; Thomas Buck, "Mayor to Ask New Type of Public Housing," Chicago Tribune, 15 January 1958; Ruth Moore, "CHA Abandons Row House, Returns to High-Rise Plans," Chicago Sun-Times, 14 May 1959.

⁹ M. W. Newman, "Chicago's \$70 Million Ghetto," Chicago Daily News, 10 April 1965.

¹⁰ Chicago Housing Authority, Here is our Answer to the Daily News, [letter from Charles Swibel to Larry S. Fanning, 26 April 1965] (Chicago: Chicago Housing Authority, 1965), 7.

¹¹ Carl W. Condit, Chicago, 1930-1970: Building, Planning, and Urban Technology, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1974), 160.

¹² Harry Weese, "Must It Be 'Either-Or' On High- and Low-Rise?," Journal of Housing, 9 (September 1952): 322.

¹³ Devereux Bowly, Jr. The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago, 1895-1976 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 184-185.

¹⁴ Alton J. Smith, Chicago's Left Bank, (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), 139, 145-146;

William Howland Kenney, Chicago Jazz. A Cultural History, 1904-1930, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 14; Charles Washburn, Come Into My Parlor. A Biography of the Aristocratic Everleigh Sisters of Chicago, (New York: National Library Book, 1936); United States Thirteenth Federal Census of Population, 1910, Manuscript Enumeration Sheets, Cook County, City of Chicago, Enumeration District 162; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Chicago Atlas, v. 3, (1911, 1950).

¹⁵ "Approval Given to Acquisition or Leasing by CHA of Three Sites for Development of Public Low-Rent Housing Projects for Elderly Persons," Journal of the Proceeding of the Chicago City Council, June 1, 1962, 7721-7725; "Approval Given to Acquisition by CHA of Three Sites for Public Low-Rent Housing Projects for Elderly Persons," Journal of the Proceeding of the Chicago City Council, 2 May 1963, 192-193; Ruth Moore, "A Young-Old Housing Center, Plan 'Marina City' Units on S. Side," Chicago Sun-Times, 26 January 1963.

¹⁶ Michel Ragon, Goldberg: On the City, (Paris: Paris Art Center, 1985), 14, 17.

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- ¹⁷ Ruth Moore, "CHA Displays 'Amphitheater' Housing Plan," Chicago Sun-Times 11 February 1964; Ruth Moore, "Young-Old Housing Center, Plan 'Marina City' Units on S. Side," Chicago Sun-Times, 26 January 1963; M. W. Newman, "Raymond Hilliard Center: Poor Man's Marina City," Chicago Daily News, 12 November 1966.
- ¹⁸ "Architect Explains His Marina Design," Chicago Sun-Times, 1 March 1960; see also, "Evolves New Concept in Urban Living, Huge Project Overlooks Chicago River," Christian Science Monitor, 2 February 1962.
- ¹⁹ John Morris Dixon, "Marina City: Outer-Space Image and Inner-Space Reality," Architectural Forum, 123 (April 1965): 68-77.
- ²⁰ "Living on the Top," Look Magazine 28 (14 January 1964): 53-58; "People On the Way Up; Banker-Building [Charles Swibel]," Saturday Evening Post, 235 (14 April 1962): 30.
- ²¹ Marina City. A City Within A City. 1961, Marina City Real Estate Brochure.
- ²² Goldberg gave this account in two extensive interviews twenty years apart; see, "Bertrand Goldberg," in John W. Cook and Heinrich Klotz, Conversations With Architects, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 126; and Betty J. Blum, "Bertrand Goldberg," Chicago Architects Oral History Project, transcript at Architecture Department, Art Institute of Chicago, 216-218.
- ²³ Bertrand Goldberg, "Low Rent Housing for the Indigent, Chicago Housing Authority," Lotus, 6 (1969): 258-263.
- ²⁴ Frederick Aaron Lazin, "Public Housing in Chicago, 1963-1971, Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority: A Case Study of The Co-Optation of a Federal Agency by its Local Constituency," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 1973, 18-25.
- ²⁵ "Priest Urges CHA to Halt High-Rise Building Plans," Chicago Sun-Times, 12 June 1964.
- ²⁶ Statement of Thomas L. Nicholson to Chicago Housing Authority, 10 December 1964, in Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council Paper, Library Special Collections, University of Illinois—Chicago Circle; see also Ruth Moore, "Seek Delay in CHA Plan for High-Rises," Chicago Sun-Times, 20 October 1964. Ruth Moore, "Civic Chiefs Ask South Side School, Oppose CHA Plans," Chicago Sun-Times, 11 December 1964; Paul Gapp, "Housing for the Aged Shelved; Integrated High School Urged," Chicago Tribune, 11 December 1964; "Second Thoughts on Cermak-State," Chicago Daily News, 14 December 1964.
- ²⁷ See Carl L. Gardner & Associates, Land-Use Analysis, Chicago Housing Authority Tract, Cermak Road and State Street, Chicago, Illinois, (Chicago, 1965).
- ²⁸ "Variety in Design Marks New Elderly Housing in Chicago," Journal of Housing, 22 (July 1965): 359; "'Beehive Look' in CHA Project," Chicago's American, 7 September 1965; John Morris Dixon, "Goldberg's Variations on Chicago Public Housing," Architectural Forum, 125 (November 1966): 26-33.
- ²⁹ Carl W. Condit, The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 23-24.
- ³⁰ Robert Bruegmann, The Architects and the City: Holabird & Roche of Chicago, 1880-1918 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 215.
- ³¹ Condit, Chicago School, 219.
- ³² Massai Takayama, The Structural Architecture of Chicago, (Tokyo: Process Architecture, 1992).

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Section number 8 Page 25

RAYMOND M. HILLIARD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT

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- ³³ "Hilliard, 58, County Aid Chief, Dies," Chicago Sun-Times, 5 July 1966; Thomas Buck, "Plan to Name New Housing Unit for Adlai," Chicago Tribune, 20 July 1965; "Housing Site Is Memorial to Hilliard," Chicago Tribune, 15 February 1966.
- ³⁴ John Morris Dixon, "Goldberg's Variations on Chicago Public Housing," Architectural Forum, 125 (November 1966): 27.
- ³⁵ Carl W. Condit, Chicago, 1930-70: Building, Planning, and Urban Technology, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 162.
- ³⁶ Devereux Bowly, Jr. The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago, 1895-1976 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 130.
- ³⁷ Alice Sinkevitch, editor, AIA Guide to Chicago, (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993), 360.
- ³⁸ Betty J. Blum, "Bertrand Goldberg," Chicago Architects Oral History Project, transcript at Architecture Department, Art Institute of Chicago, 1.
- ³⁹ David W. Dunlap, "Bertrand Goldberg Dies at 84; Architect Reshaped Chicago," New York Times, 10 October 1997; Lee Bey, "Architect Bertrand Goldberg; Made Mark with Marina City," Chicago Sun-Times, 10 October 1997; Michel Ragon, Goldberg: On the City, (Paris: Paris Art Center, 1985).
- ⁴⁰ "Thomas Buck, "Egan Rips High Rises for Poor," Chicago Tribune, 11 May 1965.
- ⁴¹ Ruth Moore, "Architects Propose CHA Build Low-Rise Apartments," Chicago Sun-Times, 14 May 1964.
- ⁴² Christopher Chandler, "Order 75% of new CHA units to be built in white areas," Chicago Sun-Times, 2 July 1969; Christopher Chandler, "U.S. backs Austin's Order to CHA," Chicago Sun-Times, 3 July 1969; Chicago Housing Authority, The New Look in Public Housing for Families, (Chicago: Chicago Housing Authority, 1972).
- ⁴³ John Morris Dixon, "Goldberg's Variations on Chicago Public Housing," Architectural Forum, 125 (November 1966): 32.

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RAYMOND M. HILLIARD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT

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RAYMOND M. HILLIARD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT

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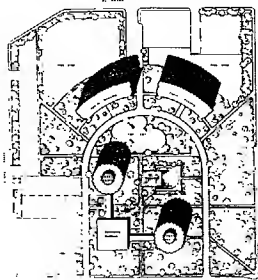
Section number 10 Page 28

RAYMONO M. HILLIARO CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT

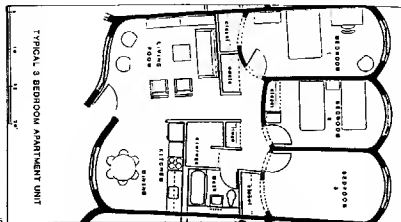
10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Verbal Boundary Description: Roughly bounded by S. State Street on the east, S. Clark Street on the west, Cermak Road (22nd Street) on the south, and Cullerton Street (20th Street) on north.

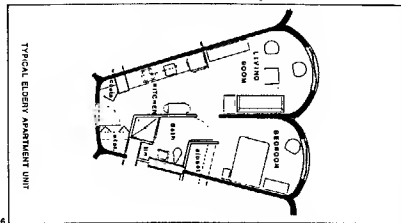
Boundary Justification: The boundaries enclose the full extent of the Hilliard Center property and are clearly distinct from the surrounding urban and architectural fabric.



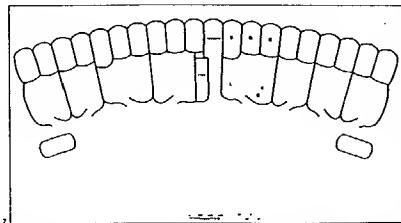
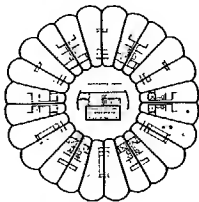
SITE PLAN



TYPICAL 3 BEDROOM APARTMENT UNIT

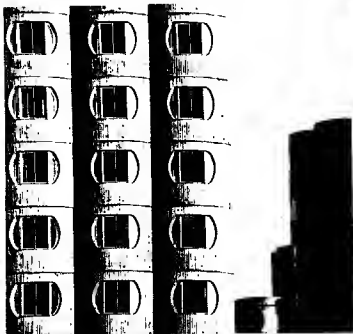


TYPICAL ELDERLY APARTMENT UNIT



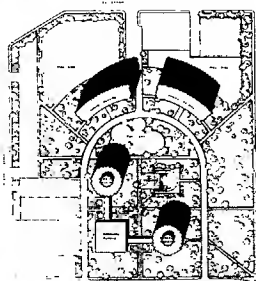
Appartement typique dans les unités circulaires pour retraités. Chaque appartement contient un module cuisine à manger et un autre module habitable de deux chambres. 7. Plan schématique de la structure du rez-de-chaussée des FHS.

Typical apartment in the circular elderly structures. Each apartment contains a living/dining module and a bedroom/bathroom module. The apartments were designed for handicapped persons. 7. A schematic floor plan of the family housing structure.

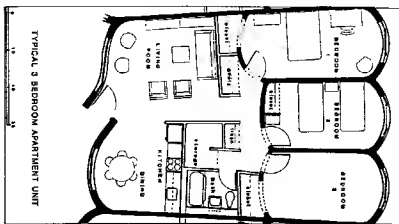


Le lieu d'habitation pour personnes âgées comporte 12 appartements à chaque étage. Chaque appartement est constitué d'un module sanitaire à manger et d'un espace chambre à coucher et de bain. En outre se trouve une terrasse pour se détendre une terrasse à la disposition de tout résident et une pièce de réception commune.

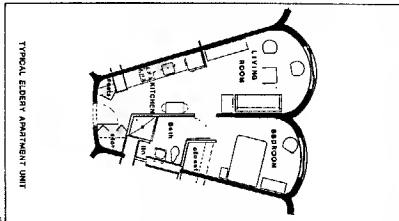
The elderly housing complex consists of 12 apartments on each floor. Each apartment consists of one living-dining module and one bedroom-bath room module. The rooftop contains a recreational terrace, a study room for the common use of the entire building and a community party room.



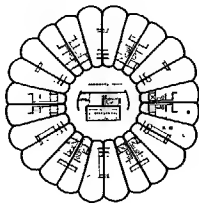
SITE PLAN



TYPICAL 3 BEDROOM APARTMENT UNIT



TYPICAL ELDERLY APARTMENT UNIT



appartement typique dans les parties unitaires pour les aînés. Chaque appartement contient un module sanitaire à manger et un à se mouvoir caractéristique de l'unité. Les salles de bains furent conçues pour des personnes handicapées. 7. Plan schématisique de la structure de logis pour les aînés.

usual apartment in the elderly housing structure. Each apartment contained a lighting module and a bathroom module. The bathroom were designed for handicapped persons. 7. A schematic floor plan of the elderly housing structure.



United States Department of the Interior

Oct 12 1999

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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Washington, D.C. 20240

IN REPLY REFER TO:

The Director of the National Park Service is pleased to announce actions on the following properties for the National Register of Historic Places.

For further information contact Edson Beall via voice

(202) 343-1572, fax (202) 343-1836, regular or E-mail: Edson_Beall@nps.gov

Visit our web site at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr>

SEP 24 1999

WEEKLY LIST OF ACTIONS TAKEN ON PROPERTIES: 9/13/99 THROUGH 9/17/99

KEY: State, County, Property Name, Address/Boundary, City, Vicinity, Reference Number, NHL, Action, Date, Multiple Name

ARIZONA, COCONINO COUNTY, Two Spot Logging Train, Jct. of San Francisco St. and US 66, Flagstaff, 99001066, LISTED, 9/14/99 (Logging Railroad Resources of the Coconino and Kaibab National Forests MPS)

ARKANSAS, COLEBIA COUNTY, Bank of Maldo, Locust and Main Sts., Maldo, 8200801, REMOVED, 9/17/99 (Thompson, Charles L., Design Collection TR)

ARKANSAS, CONWAY COUNTY, Morrilton Male and Female College, E. Church St., Morrilton, 7900436, REMOVED, 9/17/99

ARKANSAS, CROSS COUNTY, Missouri-Pacific Depot--Wynne, SW of jct. of N. Front St. and E. Hamilton Ave., Wynne, 9200623, REMOVED, 9/17/99 (Historic Railroad Depots of Arkansas MPS)

ARKANSAS, HEMPSTEAD COUNTY, McRae House, 1113 E. 3rd St., Hops, 8200826, REMOVED, 9/17/99 (Thompson, Charles L., Design Collection TR)

ARKANSAS, HEMPSTEAD COUNTY, Ozan Methodist Church, Mulberry St., Ozan, 8200827, REMOVED, 9/17/99

ARKANSAS, HOWARD COUNTY, Missouri-Pacific Railroad Depot--Nashville, S of E. Hempstead St., between S. Front and S. Ansley Sts., Nashville, 9200618, REMOVED, 9/17/99 (Historic Railroad Depots of Arkansas MPS)

ARKANSAS, NEVADA COUNTY, Bemis Florist Shop, 117 E. Second, Prescott, 8200868, REMOVED, 9/17/99 (Thompson, Charles L., Design Collection TR)

ARKANSAS, PHILLIPS COUNTY, Barlow-Coolidge House, 917 Ohio St., Helena, 7500842, REMOVED, 9/17/99

ARKANSAS, PRAIRIE COUNTY, DeValls Bluff First Baptist Church, Jct. of Prairie and Mason Sts., SE corner, DeValls Bluff, 9200161, REMOVED, 9/17/99

ARKANSAS, PULASKI COUNTY, George Alexander House, 1007 E. 2nd St., Little Rock, 7900454, REMOVED, 9/17/99

ARKANSAS, PULASKI COUNTY, Philander Smith College Historic District, Roughly bounded by 13th, 11th, Izard, and State Sts., Little Rock, 9900239, LISTED, 9/13/99

ARKANSAS, SALINE COUNTY, Missouri-Pacific Railroad Depot--Benton, Adjacent to jct. of S. East and E. Hazel Sts., Benton, 9200602, REMOVED, 9/17/99 (Historic Railroad Depots of Arkansas MPS)

ARKANSAS, WASHINGTON COUNTY, Kantz House, E of Fayetteville at 2653 Mission St., Fayetteville vicinity, 8000788, REMOVED, 9/17/99

CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO COUNTY, Teacher Training School Building--San Diego State Normal School, 4345 Campus Ave., San Diego, 9800193, REMOVED, 9/17/99

COLORADO, ARAPAHO COUNTY, Owen Estate, 3901 S. Gilpin St., Cherry Hills Village, 9900143, LISTED, 9/17/99

COLORADO, GUNNISON COUNTY, Marble City State Bank Building, 105 W. Main St., Marble, 9900146, LISTED, 9/17/99

COLORADO, ROUTE COUNTY, Hayden Rooming House, 295 S. Poplar St., Hayden, 9900144, LISTED, 9/17/99

FLORIDA, GADSDEN COUNTY, Planter's Exchange, Inc., 204 Second St., NW, Hanvna, 9900147, LISTED, 9/17/99

FLORIDA, ORANGE COUNTY, Winter Park Country Club and Golf Course, 761 Old England Ave., Winter Park, 9900148, LISTED, 9/17/99

ILLINOIS, COOK COUNTY, Raymond M. Hilliard Center Historic District, Jct. of Cermak Rd. and B. State St., Chicago, 9900172, LISTED, 9/13/99

INDIANA, BENTON COUNTY, Heath David S. House, 202 W. McConnell, Oxford, 9900153, LISTED, 9/17/99

INDIANA, CSSS COUNTY, Bankers Row Historic District, Eel River Ave., from Market to Third, Logansport, 9900149, LISTED, 9/17/99

INDIANA, CASS COUNTY, Point Historic District, Roughly bet. Eel River Ave., Third St., and E. Melbourne Ave., Logansport, 9900150, LISTED, 9/17/99

INDIANA, LAKE COUNTY, State Street Commercial Historic District, Roughly State St., bet. Sohl and Bulletin Aves., Hammond, 9900157, LISTED, 9/17/99

INDIANA, OHIO COUNTY, Clore Plow Works--J.W. Whitlock and Company, 212 S. Walnut St., Rising Sun, 9900152, LISTED, 9/17/99

INDIANA, PULASKI COUNTY, Malion Building, 102 E. Montgomery St., Franceville, 9900151, LISTED, 9/17/99

MASSACHUSETTS, PLYMOUTH COUNTY, Paragon Park Carousel, 1 Wharf Ave., Hull, 9900181, LISTED, 9/14/99

MISSOURI, BENTON COUNTY, Upper Bridge, Old Highway A, over Osage River, Nareaw vicinity, 9900158, LISTED, 9/17/99

MISSOURI, HOWARD COUNTY, South Main Street Historic District, 200, 202, 204 and 208-312 South Main St., Fayette, 9900083, ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION APPROVED, 9/15/99

MISSOURI, JACKSON COUNTY, Walnut Street Warehouse and Commercial Historic District, Roughly bounded by Main St., 15th St., Grand St. and 17th St., Kansas City, 9900158, LISTED, 9/17/99

MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS INDEPENDENT CITY, Antioch Baptist Church, 4213 N. Market St., St. Louis, 9900166, LISTED, 9/17/99 (The Ville, St. Louis, Missouri MPS)

MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS INDEPENDENT CITY, Charles Turner Owen Air School, 4235 W. Kennarly Ave., St. Louis, 9900165, LISTED, 9/17/99 (The Ville, St. Louis, Missouri MPS)